291 The Lolo male has only one upper garment to cover his body, in winter or summer. The garment is usually blue, with a slit on the right side, reaching to the waist. The buttons are made of bone or cloth. Double layers of cloth or multi-colored lace are sewn with cotton thread on the sleeve openings and edges of the garment. The trousers have enormously wide legs. They look like a long skirt when the wearer stands up, but the legs are often tucked in the belt at the waist when he [514] walks. A man can urinate very conveniently by pulling up the trouser legs without having to untie his belt. The Lolo do not wear shoes and both men and women have normal feet.

The Lolo wear capes for protection against inclement [287 weather. There are two kinds of capes: one made of hand-288] matted felt, thick and warm; the other made of woven wool for wear in the rain. They can be worn singly as an overcoat or one over the other. Both are very narrow at the neck and long enough to reach the knees. The woven woolen cape is decorated with tassels on the lower part and looks exceedingly handsome. The cape, a special feature of Lolo clothing, is very popular with both men and women, old and young.

302 [42] Lolo women are adorned somewhat differently. Instead of a t'iên p'u-sa on the forehead, women of different age groups have different styles of hairdo, a single braid, two braids, or a bun coiled up on the head. For their headgear 291 or hats, there are several combinations and styles, which vary according to age. The woman has two holes in each ear, one 304 on the lower lobe and the other inside the rim. The ear orna-301 ments consist of red beads and silver, coral, or other pendants.

291 The women's upper garments are the same as the men's, except that the sleeves are always trimmed with lace. For example, Li-ch'ü Ch'ü-hsi-erh of San-ho-i-ta village has three layers of lace on the hems of her dress and five rows of silver buttons on the collar. The women do not wear trousers but cover the lower part of the body with a long skirt made of many pleats in variegated colors. Like the men, they wear two kinds of woolen capes. When the author's party reached Wu-chio, we were greeted by Mrs. Hu, nee Li-ch'ü, who was the village head. As she walked toward us from a distance in her tasseled woolen cape and long skirt trailing on the ground, her graceful mien made her look almost like a queen on promenade.

241 For food production, the Lolo rely on animal husbandry 233 and farming, especially the latter. Every family has a plot of arable land which is cultivated for food crops. Grazing is

241 not common and only wealthy families can afford to keep a
233 herd of cattle or sheep. The general belief that the Lolo are a nomadic tribe is erroneous.

567 Agriculture and grazing will be discussed more fully in Chapter 6, "Economic Life." Here mention will be made only of family labor connected with these occupations. In a
[356] Lolo family, all housework is done by slaves under the supervision of the black Lolo master. Every black Lolo family has several household slaves called kuo-chuang wa-tzu [lit., "stove
[592] slaves"], who are white Lolo or Han-Chinese. These slaves live in the master's house, do housework for him, and are indebted to him for all their food and clothing. They own no property, but are themselves considered a part of their master's property. He can sell them whenever he pleases. The white Lolo who are not household slaves have their own dwelling places, land, cattle, and other property. Sometimes they also have Han-Chinese as slaves to work for them. On the other hand, they have to take orders from their black Lolo masters and perform duties for them. The white Lolo are never completely freed from the slave status.

512 In a Lolo household, both master and slaves rise early
[515] in the morning. They wipe their eyes clean with their hands, but do not wash their faces. The male slaves who tend cattle and sheep lead them up the mountain to graze, while those who farm take their tools to the field to plow or weed. Farming
[241 is a joint effort of husband and wife, who often work together
462] shoulder to shoulder in the field. In sowing, plowing, or harvesting, [43] men and women both participate. The herders usually take corn cakes made the night before to eat on the mountain. The farm workers generally return to the house for breakfast at about 10 o'clock, after which they do not go out to work again. Sometimes they stay home in the morning and go
241 to the field after breakfast. The Lolo do not engage in intensive farming. Though uncultivated lands lie everywhere in Liang Shan, the Lolo are not interested in developing them for cultivation. They are satisfied with having just enough food for family consumption.

[264] They have two meals, one in the morning and the other
252 in the evening, but no regular mealtime. The preparation of food is the duty of female household slaves. Dried corn or buckwheat, doled out to them from storage by the mistress of the house, is first ground into flour on the grindstone. After the stove is lighted, the flour is poured into an iron caldron, mixed with water and boiled, and then taken out and put into a round, flat-bottomed basket. The dough is kneaded into round

463 black Lolo tend sheep themselves and do not consider ani-
564 mal husbandry a mean job as farming is. Furthermore,
233 every year during the shearing season, the black Lolo usually participate in the work; they especially take the leading part in the "wool fair" at Huang-mao Kang.

174 The fact that the Lolo look down upon farming gives the
564 author the impression that animal husbandry was originally the main economic activity of the black Lolo and that the Lolo were formerly a pastoral people. It was only after the conquest of the white Lolo and the capture of the Han-Chinese as slaves that the black Lolo started farming by forcing the conquered people to cultivate the land. Most of the white Lolo were originally Han-Chinese [62] who, having lived in the Lolo territory for many years, forgot their Han-Chinese ancestry and considered themselves as Lolo. This point will be discussed in detail in the subsequent chapter, "Classes." Here it suffices to mention briefly that the difference in the Lolo attitude towards grazing and farming may be attributed to the differences in the former economic life of the black and white Lolo, or in the relationship of the conqueror and conquered.

241 Agriculture, however, is the most popular enterprise
564 in the Lolo area today. Although the black Lolo do not cultivate the land themselves, the white Lolo, who constitute 80 to
[162] 90 per cent of the total population, are all engaged in farming. Provisions for both black and white Lolo depend upon the produce from the fields. In other words, agriculture is the main economic stay of the Lolo who have, however, a special system of their own in agricultural activity.

423 In Lolo villages, all arable land is the property of the
564 black Lolo. Due to the many divisions and branches within the clan, to the new economic units formed by the grown-up children at the time of their marriage, and to the inheritance of land by male heirs after the death of their father or grandfather, each black Lolo family has its own plot of land. In other words, the right of land ownership is geared to the family unit. This, however, applies only to the arable land for agricultural production and is quite different from the outlying village land, which has no clear-cut boundaries. The
423 village district includes the dwellings, the land or field en-
621 circling each house, the outer grazing land, and even the forests, mountain streams, and rivers. Actually only the house and the field constitute the land owned by each family, while the outlying pasture and forest are the common property of the entire village. Everybody has the right to use them, including all outside people who are not clan enemies. Different

423 Lolo groups usually have many enemies, particularly those in
62] neighboring villages. Clan enemies are prohibited from enter-
[619] ing the village. Whenever they cross the border and are discovered, they are usually killed or captured. Therefore, although the boundary of each village is not distinctly drawn, there is always a neutral fringe area where the people of both villages, if they happen to be enemies, dare not trespass. This kind of boundary has a tribal political significance, quite different from the family-owned land.

567 The black Lolo master employs household slaves to cultivate the land. In case the number of slaves has increased considerably and the house is too small for them, the master sends those who have served him faithfully for a long time to build houses of their own in separate units. The master may
[425 give each family a certain amount of land or the family may
427] rent some arable land to supply its needs. Gradually, after a long period of time, the slave would be freed economically from his master's control; he would have his own land to cultivate and his own household to manage. [63] Hence there
[57] are today in the Lolo villages many independent white Lolo
[62] households which, except that they have to accept the rule and protection of the black Lolo and to assume certain responsibilities and duties, have a self-supporting economic life. These white Lolo are called "subjects" (pai-hsing) by those who have been Sinicized. Actually the "subjects" are still slaves, although they have a higher social position than the household slaves.

241 The Lolo have no unit for measuring land which is al-
[804] ways referred to in terms of pieces or sections without any reference to the exact acreage. Therefore it is very difficult to estimate the area of their cultivated land. It is possible, however, to get a general idea of the acreage through the cultivation or production figures for each piece of land. Take, for instance, corn, the most important agricultural product in the Lolo area. On the average, a person is able to cultivate each year from 6 sheng [a sheng is equivalent to 31.6 cubic inches] to 2 tou [a tou is 10 sheng] of corn seed. Both sheng
[177] and tou are measurements adopted from the Han-Chinese. If the 6-sheng cultivation unit is taken as the basis of calculation, then the harvest will be around 40 market tou. In the districts around southern Szechwan, the average yield for one mu [about one-sixth of an acre] of land is about 15 market tou. So 40 tou is equivalent to the yield of two and a half mu, which is therefore the minimum cultivated acreage per person in the Lolo area.

241 Besides corn and buckwheat, other agricultural products include oats, potatoes, green vegetables, and turnips, each of which has its proper harvest season. Among them, [252] oats are considered the most precious. The Lolo usually grind them into flour and mix it with water to eat on a trip. Potatoes are produced in large quantities to be used as auxiliary food.

241 Lolo agriculture is aimed at self-sufficiency only. 461 The people will be quite satisfied if production each year is 311 enough to meet the demands of consumption. The Lolo do not work hard on the farms, nor do they want to expand the cultivated acreage or to improve agricultural techniques. So the good earth of Liang Shan still remains a tract of barren land.

[423] Every Lolo family has its own cultivated field, which 231 constitutes its basic property. The wealth of a black Lolo 556 household, however, is measured by the herd of animals it owns. Animals are also raised by the rich white Lolo. Domesticated 233 animals consist largely of sheep and goats, pastured by house- 343 hold slaves. The sheep pen is inside the walls of the house but sometimes also outside as a separate unit. In spring and summer when the weather becomes warm, a round bamboo stable is built on the mountain slope outside the village to house the flocks of sheep. These are watched over day and night by household slaves. Besides grazing, the sheep are fed salt water twice or thrice a month to stimulate the growth of wool, used mainly as material for making capes. Shearing is performed three times a year between the third and tenth month; 236 the wool cut in the third month is the best in quality. In the 527 hot seventh month, people from villages in different places 571 drive their flocks to Huang-mao Kang, partly to cool off and partly to cut the wool. At that time different clans and villages assemble to feast and play together after shearing. They exchange gifts and food, trade or barter, and talk and laugh in these semisocial gatherings. It is a very grand affair, popularly called the "wool fair."

231 Pigs are also raised in flocks of ten or more and tended by female household slaves, but pig breeding is not as [237 popular as sheep breeding. After the pigs are killed, the 439] bristles are shaved off from head and body for export to the Han-Chinese territory.

The Lolo also raise the common yellow oxen in herds of as many as several dozens. They are driven to the pastures outside the village in the early morning and returned to the stable in the evening. The oxen can be used for plowing and are more expensive than sheep and pigs. The Lolo do not

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

He shot it, and between them they gave it the *coup de grâce.* 136
It turned out to be the largest boar they had ever seen in 224
those parts, and weighed several hundred pounds. It was a regular old warrior. Where it had scratched its back against some fir-trees they compared and found it was as high as a man's shoulders.

We were very interested in the sugar-cane grown by Mr Yang, but we soon found something to interest us still more. It was he who told us the startling piece of news mentioned in Chapter I. From him we learned that messengers had already been sent across the river to arrange with the tribesmen for the murder of the Englishman and his chief companion. He told us further that the place where the attack might be made on our party was a little farther on in the valley where he was living, and that the Nosu chief who had been chosen to commit the deed had already come down to the valley. This startling news made us feel uncomfortable, and we wondered for a while what we should do. After all, we thought the story might not be true, and that it might only be an attempt on the part of the Chinaman to frighten us back from our endeavour to lift the veil from the unknown. Had we turned back and appeared at that famous ferry on that same day, how Mr Tien would have laughed and ridiculed us! We were not going to give him that satisfaction if we could possibly help it. We determined to push on and risk it. We had won in one game and we might win in th next.

The farther we went the more the valley opened out, and 241
at last we came to a stretch where were a lot of ricefields. The rice had been gathered in but the stalks were still standing. Only the ears had been cut off. In China every stalk

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

241 is gathered and used as fodder for the cattle, or in the making of the straw mats which are used on the beds of the people [231] all over the country. As fodder for cattle the Nosu hillmen prefer the wild grass of the hills, and as a bed-mat is a luxury these men do not indulge in, the rice straw is ploughed into the fields again.

342 Near the ricefields were a few houses, where dwelt the cultivators of these fields. A rough wall surrounded the houses, evidently as a defence against attack. On the wall sat a couple of Nosu with their long felt capes on, and as 000 they caught sight of me they burst into laughter. My black English suit was a never-ending source of amusement to the tribes-people. They had never seen a human being so dressed before. The nearest approach to such a dressed being was the black bear, which is very common among these hills. Again and again the people burst out with the cry: "A man black bear." One hunter told me one day that had he suddenly come across me in the woods he would unhesitatingly have shot me for a bear. I am very glad the constant presence of friends prevented such a catastrophe. When talking it over one night I could not help remarking that it would have been a great take-in for us both. To the hunter who shot the man for a bear the layer after layer of garments would have been a surprising revelation. It was something to my advantage that my appearance always provoked hearty laughter. A man who laughs heartily at you cannot get very angry with you, try he never so hard. More than one good story has been told of how foreigners in China have saved their lives by being able to provoke a merry laugh in those who were going to attack them. All the time we were in Nosuland good humour and laughter were the

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

fire were very cold indeed. We who were near the burning logs only just kept warm. 374

The next morning our host brought out a young black bear with a very fine fur, and this he wished to present to me. He said it would make a fine plaything for my boys who were in Chaotung. I was told that some of the bears on the hills around there were as much as four hundred pounds in weight. I have talked to men who have had encounters with these bears. Bruin does a lot of damage to the maize crops, and has the usual weakness for honey. Many a time he will knock over a hive in order to get at the sweet stores. Apparently all the efforts of the bees to sting them are futile, for the bear goes on with his meal, regardless of all the angry little winged creatures can do. One man told me of an encounter between a tiger and a bear which was witnessed. The tiger stalked the bear and then sprang at him. The bear, however, was ready, and caught "stripes" with his paws. Then he made a supreme effort and threw the tiger down the hill with great force. The latter was so surprised at this unusual reception that he gave it up and ran away. When the hunters are pursued by a bear, which often happens, they run up-hill and soon gain on the animal, who finds it very difficult to ascend rapidly. Some of the animals caught are very fat. In one house where I have stayed two or three times, the vegetables cooked for the guests are usually fried in bear's fat. I did not notice any difference, and imagined I was eating the usual pork fat. I was told that when the female bear is pregnant she is very mild and will not attack anybody, but as soon as she has her young ones she is very fierce and will attack anybody and anything.

136

[241]

[262]

I told my host that I did not wish to take the bear, as I

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

000 they told us of a man who with his own consent had been sold three times, and each time had run away in safety.

342 Some of the houses we passed on our way were built of two or three thicknesses of wattle, and were plastered over with cow-dung to keep out the wind. The people told us these houses were quite warm.

241 Nearing the village where we were to rest that night, we met a couple of horses sent for us to ride on. The one I got on was a fiery little creature, which wanted to be off like the wind. In the running my new cloak got loose and dropped off. The people with me roared at this. Later on the low branches swept off my hat, and there was another hearty roar. Two accidents in a ride of two hundred yards, which was all I rode all the time I was in Nosuland! We entered the village through a lane formed by bamboos plaited together. Each stick being covered with ice, the white lane looked very charming indeed. These fences must have taken a lot of trouble to make. They evidently were intended to prevent the cattle from straying on to the vegetables which were grown in patches in front of the houses.

576 When about to enter a house, the visitor always stops for a moment and gives a warning cough, that those inside may not be taken unawares, and that they may come outside and drive away the dogs from annoying the visitors. Our warning cough answered its purpose, and Vri-ha was soon at the door, pressing the visitors to enter. The house was one of the usual low-built houses, roofed with the thin pine planks. A number of the stones were on the roof to keep the planks from being blown off by the high winds. Icicles were hanging down from the roof, and under the eaves were one or two of the long spears kept in such places in readiness for use as

342
751

621 democratic government exists in the I region of Liang-shan. The ability to unite, which may account partly for the difficulty of conquering them, is something which the Chinese should imitate. As the Lolo become more sinified, however, these virtues are gradually lost. In the region close to the Chinese there have recently been groups of warring Lolo who are anxious to submit to the Chinese in order to be able to defeat their Lolo enemies /with Chinese assistance/. Chinese officials often take advantage of these conditions to subjugate the I. This corrupt racial characteristic should not be further encouraged even for the sake of "accomplishing a greater good." These manifestations are nevertheless still rare in the I region of Liang-shan for its people have not yet been tainted with the many bad habits of the Chinese.

A SKETCH OF THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF THE LOLO

241 High altitude and cold weather account for Liang-shan's inadequate agricultural production. Furthermore the Lolo have a low civilization and do not know how to develop their agriculture fully.
511 For this reason they still lead a primitive and hard life similar to that in the medieval ages, or, even to that of remote antiquity, while people in the not too distant city of Hsi-ch'ang enjoy 1941 standards of living. The difference between the living standards of the frontier Chinese and the Lolo is greater than the difference between those of the Chinese and the more prosperous peoples of Europe and America. There has always been a saying prevalent at the Szechwan frontier: "Break open Wan-shih-p'ing, and no poor man will be left in the world." Probably this slogan meant originally to encourage the Chinese to penetrate into the Lolo region, but it soon led to the erroneous belief that Liang-shan was of extraordinary richness, that in the very center of Wan-shih-p'ing there were mountains of gold, silver and riches, and that if one did not mind the fierceness of the Lolo /101/ and penetrated into their region, the wealth gained there could be used to assist the poor and thus sweep poverty away from the world. According to another saying, in Wan-shih-p'ing there were extremely large, highly productive rice fields, which could provide food for a large number of people. These sayings actually have no basis and do not correspond at all to reality.

[183 cont.]

291 2. A wide pantaloon going down to the calf and ended by a light-blue or red band frequently having embroideries.

3. An apron, which is worn in front of the body and ties behind the back. This apron, slightly slit at the bottom of the sides, is held about the neck by means of one or two small silver chains, the size of whose links varies. On the front it is edged by a light-blue (or red) band and by piping analogous to those of the jacket.

4. A belt, knotted in front and fastening all the garments mentioned above. The ends of the belt hang in front of the thighs, often as far as the knees, and bear a number of small bands, finely embroidered.

5. The headdress is of an entirely unique model. The hair is [302] not shaved. It is gathered into a chignon on top of the head and slightly to the rear. About the chignon is placed a sort of headband of black material, often edged with a narrow red band. The whole is held by a cord on which colored beads and glass pieces are strung very closely together.

The "F'ou-la" women often walk barefooted; we have never seen them with leggings.

(Photos 514 and 337, Plate 44, show various costumes of "F'ou-la" women of the region of Muongkhuong.)

As the "F'ou-la" are very poor, they have rather little jewelry.
302 [184] The women wear scarcely any more than the small chains which hold up their aprons. Sometimes they have thin bracelets of silver or copper. Their earrings consist of a simple silver ring, to which are attached sometimes pendants formed of thin chains supporting little plaques of embossed silver. They almost never wear either rings or necklaces.

241 The "F'ou-la" are farmers. Their means of existence and their methods of agriculture present no peculiarity. They have no 286 industries other than those of weaving and of dyeing, for which they 386 employ the procedures already described.

All that has been said of the "Lolo" in the matter of various 184 costumes and beliefs, applies completely to the "F'ou-la," who little by little are giving way to the influence of the tribes among whom they are settled.